7: Nash E-5 (1957-1967) 1970

NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Amatenango del Valle

159 edge not only of how to manage money, but also of how to *manejarlo*, or
472 drive it, and to "make it grow" indicated an insight into capital operations
621 which made him a leader in local enterprises. In his post as shopkeeper, he
45 invested the store's capital in corn bought at harvest.

159 Santos' career as an entrepreneur was ended when a bullet was fired
472 into his back in 1966. He had relaxed his observation of the rules which permit survival for those who challenge traditional ways: no drinking, no trips to the mountain alone, and no boasting of gains. As yet, he has had no parallel in the community, but the truck drivers are becoming aware of the possibilites for profit in trade and commercial deals.

426 *Capital and credit.* The Indians' knowledge of capital and credit
609 operations has been acquired in the role of debtor, not creditor. In the leg-
538 ends concerning money the creditor is an outsider, a *pukuh* or devil, usually a Ladino. I had accepted a story about a Don Klabil, owner of a mountain in the town adjacent to the neighboring Ladino town Teopisca, as being of ancient origin. It fit with the many stories collected in Mesoamerica of owners of the hills who give out money on request to those who come knocking at the entrances to their caves. After their death, the recipients spend their spirit life in the mountain, working off the debt. Don Klabil was said to be responsible for the wealth of one of the outstandingly wealthy men in town who had gone to his hill and asked for cattle and money. Once while riding in a bus from Tzo?ontahal to Las Casas, I was engaged in conversation with a woman of Teopisca, who was dressed in widow's weeds. I commented on the story of Don Klabil as we passed the hill, and she said, "Oh, yes. That was Don David, my husband. He used to lend money to the Indians." When he died, the Indians say he went to live in the cave from which he got money when he was alive.

The Indians feel at a disadvantage to Ladinos when they enter into capital and credit operations. They tell a story of how, many years ago, when all the Indians of Tzo?ontahal were rich, the mayordomos got drunk on *Paswamal*, the day of gathering flowers and greens to decorate the church. When the true day of the fiesta came, they looked about them and realized that the church was undecorated, so they strewed green peso notes on the floor of the church. The Ladinos from Teopisca came for the fiesta as

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usual, and seeing the pesos, picked them up. The "spirit of the money" left the village forever. The story reveals not only the sense of deprivation Indians feel in losing wealth to Ladinos (historically land the Indians had lost through fraud or legal trickery during the Porfirio Diaz period), but also their realization of their own responsibility for letting their assets slip out of their control.

Payment of interest on money borrowed is justified in the calculations of the Indians for loans made within as well as outside of the community. Interest, called *shol tak'in*, or "head" of money, makes it possible for the borrower to work, and thus to earn, so the "owner" has the right to charge for the use. The rate on loans made within the pueblo has risen from 2 or 3 pesos a month for 100 pesos to 5 pesos, thus equalizing the rate with that charged in the neighboring Ladino town. The same rate is applied between relatives as nonkin. The advantage of intracommunity borrowing is that the lender does not demand an immediate return, or as high security. Ladinos of the neighboring town tend to demand items of greater value than the debt held as security—one Ladino held title to land worth 1,000 pesos for a 50-peso debt, and threatened to foreclose. Within the pueblo, security of about the same value as the loan is asked except in the case of neighbors and relatives who can be reminded every day of the debt. And they are.

Markets. In marketing, the Indians of Tzo?ontahal have neither extended nor gained control over the selling and buying operations that have been pursued since before the opening of the Pan-American Highway in 1955. The pottery which is produced locally was formerly carried on horseback to the smaller towns within a radius of fifty miles. The pottery was marketed directly by the men of the household which produced it, with no specialization in trading by commercial travelers, as had happened in the Zapotec and other areas of Mexico. Since the penetration of the Pan-American Highway, the men take the pottery produced in their households by bus or on the trucks to either San Cristóbal or Comitán. This tends to polarize trading operations and dry up the traffic into small towns not connected by the highway. As a result, the wholesale trade in San Cristóbal and Comitán has increased in the past decade, with dealers

8: Hunt E-4,5 (1958)1962 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
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156 The picture of life in Amatenango and Aguacatenango is
62 not, however, from the ideological point of view of the community
754 members, spread only into sanctions of negative dimensions. There
777 are some justifications for wealth or success which are as intimate a part of the world view of the villagers as witchcraft is, because witchcraft has a positive counterpart: suerte (luck).

777 Suerte, as witchcraft power, is also a supernatural power given to the particular individual without the person's will having control over its possession. Some people are born with good suerte, some people with bad suerte. Some people can be "given" a particular suerte by a supernatural being[1] at some time in their life to keep until his death or for some period of time. Of course, a man cannot give his suerte away or transmit it to his children. The suerte is not a general power, but has specific dimensions. For example, a man has suerte to raise cattle, which would, then, grow and reproduce tremendously in his lifetime. But, he may very well have bad bean crops. His children, at his death,

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[776] [1]The suerte can be given by many different supernatural beings. Some informants say it is Dios (God), or the Virgin Mary, some say it is the Sombrerón, or owner of the deer and cayes, to whom one has to promise to give one's soul at death, some others indicate that it is written in one's destiny at birth to have a particular type of suerte. The variations in the belief are many, and in a system of ideology without a Church body to create, and control the diffusion of dogma, this is to be expected.

[779] The only organized dogma available to the villager is the
• [538] local Catholic Church, but this dogma leaves out a series of beliefs such as suerte and brujeria as unacceptable. Therefore, these beliefs are only transmitted informally, together with folk-tales, myths and the like. Because dreams are of great importance in relation to these beliefs, each individual can contribute, through his personal dream experiences, to the general pool of ideology of the community. Therefore, tales and myth, dream experiences, the "true" stories that people are told in the evening by particular relatives or friends, all tend to produce a mushrooming of alternative versions of the same or similar sets of beliefs.
[787]
[791]

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593 [626] A man whose brother is accused of witchcraft is very likely to share the same accusation; if a man beats his wife, he can be blamed by his younger brother because the first one's reputation hinders the chances of the second for getting himself a wife. If a woman is lazy, people will assume that her sister is also lazy, and so on. Paradoxically, at the same time that siblings are equivalent for certain purposes, they are not in relation to each other. An elder sibling has, from early in life, power to scold, punish or control his younger siblings. The older they grow, the more the age difference becomes important. While one could be already working with the father in the fields, the other is still a playing child. While one gets married and becomes a man, the other is still under his father's authority.

The elder brother is always a possible jural replacement [736] for the father. If the father dies and a man is a bachelor with a married brother, his elder brother replaces the father in terms of jural authority over him, is in charge of supporting him, working with him in the field, paying for his bride-price, etc.

[476] [508] On the one hand, the relationship of brothers is one of collaboration, intense association for work and mutual dependency; on the other, the differential distribution of authority creates a certain amount of antagonism between the two.

593 578 538 This antagonism between brothers is symbolically expressed in myths, legends and tales, many of which contain both a younger and elder brother who spend their time trying to kill each other, being alternately successful until the younger sibling is the final victor.

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593 The folk tales reflect, undoubtedly, the pattern of ultimo-
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538 geniture and, perhaps, a switch from primogeniture to ultimogeniture. The meaning of the folk tales becomes obvious because of other elements which enter in the conflict.

428 If a younger son is married at the time of his father's
592 death, he inherits his house, and replaces his father as head of
593 the domestic group, following the norm of agnatic ultimogeniture. But if a younger son is single at the time of his father's death, his elder brother replaces the father and inherits from him. In this last case, it is his duty to provide for his younger brother's support, and at the time that he marries, split the paternal inheritance with him, giving the younger son his share of land, cattle or whatever was left for them.

183 The "rules of the game"[1] are, in the second case, not as
428 explicit as in the normative pattern. Many alternative forms of
592 behavior occur. In some cases, the elder son will move out of
593 the paternal home when his younger brother marries and brings his
[591] wife to the homestead. In other cases, he will expect to be com-
[583] pensated for his brother's bride-price and for having supported him and his mother. He would probably reclaim part of the property, or force his younger brother to sell the house and share the money obtained with him.

In still other cases, he will even refuse to give the younger son his share, or move out of the compound.

593 It is obvious that not all men are alike in temperament
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[1]That is, the adjustment between authority rights and succession rights.